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Below the provincial level are newspapers on the administrative district level. At the base of the pyramid are newspapers onthe hsien or city level.

The vertical division follows functional lines. Individual newspapers serve different classes of readers.

By the fall of 1950, the Central-South China region had 51 newspapers above the administrative district level.[4] The exact number of hsien newspapers has never been made known.

Printed newspapers are supplemented by many mimeographed newspapers and hand-written "wall newspapers" and "blackboard newspapers" in small localities, factories, schools, mass organizations, and agricultural producers' co-operatives. These special newspapers are also organs of the Party and the government, and they have regular editors, editorial boards, and correspondents. The local Party branches constantly keep a watchful eye on their operation and development, and from time to time issue new instructions and regulations to keep them in line.

4. Teng Tzu-hui, "Chung-nan I-nien-lai Chih Hui-ku" (1950) [Retrospect on Central-South China During the Last Year"], Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, October 1, 1950.

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The importance of these special newspapers must not be overlooked. In vies of the fact that all the printed newspapers in the region by the fall of 1950, had an approximate combined circulation of only 50,000 issues daily, it must be obvious that the Communists have been forced to make maximum use of such special newspapers for propaganda and agitation. Like the oral agitator and propagandist, the wall newspaper and blackboard newspapers have the advantages of flexibility and adaptability for mass communication. These advantages are particularly conducive to agitation work. For instance, they can deal more effectively with the problem of production by seizing upon the most appropriate opportunities to criticize indifferent workers and praise energetic ones.

While an overwhelming majority of the press in Central-South China is owned and operated by the Communists Party of China, the government, or mass oranizations in 1950 , there were eight newspapers in the region operated by private interests, the most notable being the Ta-kang Pao [Ta-kang News], published in Hankow. Private newspapers in this region, like other newspapers in Communist China, underwent a thorough re-organization in the years 1951-52. Upon this re-organization they lost their former identity and independent status and have become part of the propaganda apparatus of the Party and the government. The Ta-kang Pao, for example, has been renamed the Hsin Wuhan Pao [New Wuhan News] and serves as the official organ

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 [622] C [703] [701] [203] C [357] C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities. When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official business require servants, they may also recruit them from the Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales. It would appear that the 100-families village chief was originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility. During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who accompanied the army and won peacock feather awards are numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and according to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one or two men to be native second captains, under whom there should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
* 175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
631 to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
* 618 general and governor and military officials should examine the
merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[622] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommenda-
[625] tions memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the
t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been
C abolished, official communications should be despatched ac-
● [203] cording to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions
where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials
/t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given
the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned,
to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according
to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[357] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations
memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih"
in Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei
and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao
soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian
affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un
land within the Miao area were placed under the control of
Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng
/The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un
M Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
[425] pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,